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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[39] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[39] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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CHAPTER II

INFANCY

854 KWOMA infants[1] up to the time they are weaned are never far from their mothers. It is, in fact, very seldom that they are not actually in physical contact [575] with her. Having turned over most of her household duties to [602] her co-wife or some female relative, the mother may hold the child all day and give it her undivided attention. She sits either on the earth floor or on a bark slab under the porch of the family dwelling with the baby nestling on her outstretched legs. At night the infant sleeps cuddled by her side. Whenever she has to move, she carries the child with her cradled in her arm, sitting on her neck, or, less frequently, straddling her hip. The hours that she spends sitting, however, far outnumber the total time spent in standing or walking around with the baby. This is especially true during the first few months, when she considers it dangerous to the child's health to leave the house. If the child appears robust at the end of three or four months, the mother may venture out to the house of a neighbor to visit and show off her infant, but she will not go beyond the limits of the hamlet [754] until the fontanel hardens. This precaution results from the belief that infants are especially susceptible to sorcery before this time and that they should therefore not be subjected to • [574] undue risks. For the same reason any visitor except a close relative is unwelcome in a house where there is a newborn [423] infant. Two children were born in the hamlet during my stay, but I was not allowed to see either of them until they were about three months old.[2]

853 Hunger produces one of the earliest and most persistently

[1] The infants from whom most of the data were obtained were Yat's son Njan, who was born a few weeks after my arrival, Way's son Kadowan, who was born a few weeks after Njan, and Suw, the son of War, an infant who was slightly over three years of age, but retarded by yaws and malaria.

[2] This made the observation of infants extremely difficult and accounts in large part for the paucity of data in this chapter.

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882 her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury
602 because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own
578 detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and
[583] the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

882 An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly rela-
602 tionship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *mater-*
[574] *nal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever
[276] they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty
[476] to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal*
[561] *uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[591] [30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group coöperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this call and appear the next morning at the place where the work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the hamlet or in an outlying district.[5] If the garden is planted near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is normally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[5] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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tinue to maintain a very friendly relationship. The opportunity for clandestine affairs between the two is decreased and they seldom occur, but the joking relationship continues. They frequently visit one another either for purely social or for economic reasons. A *brother* participates in many of the work bees called by his *sister's* husband, and a *sister* often helps her *brother's* wife in gardening.[43] The warm feeling a man has toward his *sister* generalizes to her children. He is especially kind to them and gives them whatever they wish; he treats them, indeed, as a "good father." He is repaid for his kindness by a gift of shell money from the children at the time of the age-grade ceremony. The kinship system arranges relatives in such a way that a man's father's *sister's* child falls in the same relationship to him as does his own *sister's* child. When his father dies, therefore, a man inherits the responsibility of playing the "good father" to his paternal cross cousins.

A man continues during adulthood the special relationship toward his mother's brother, the reciprocal of the one described above. He is still privileged to help himself from his gardens and sago plots and in return is obligated to pay him the specified amount of shell money. When his mother's *brother* dies, he carries on the relationship with the mother's *brother's* son, whom he addresses by the same term, *maternal uncle*.

A man does not have a very close relationship with his *mother's sister*. She neither lives in his hamlet nor in his mother's hamlet, but with her husband.[44] For this reason he does not come in contact with her either at home, or when he visits his *mother's brother*. Thus a man's behavior toward the *sisters* of his mother approximates that toward a nonrelative.

[43] If a man is injured while helping his *sister* or her husband, he receives compensation in the form of shell money. No compensation is paid if a man is injured while helping his *brother*, however, since it is believed that they are working with a common purpose. A *sister* is probably similarly compensated if she is hurt while helping a *brother*, although I do not have specific information on this point.

[44] If, by chance, she marries into the hamlet, she becomes his *paternal uncle's* wife and he treats her as such.

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother* [601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is [881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though [574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite [754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[45] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos [765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to [764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[45] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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602 578 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for her."

583 607 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interference in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with them economically.

[574] [754] [476]

602 Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 591 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and cooperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***. 602 [628]

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the cooperative endeavors of non-relatives[a] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes. 609 619

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected. 609 578 754 [574]

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't 609 156 578 123

[a] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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695 portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."[48]

648 619 Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma [439] subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only ex- [436] change sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail [582] visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and [574] visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and [796] Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

[48] Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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121 861 431 gift giving in which both parties in the transaction play simultaneously the rôles of teacher and pupil.

[476] [461] The work bee is a good example of how both helping and giving reinforce coöperative habits. Yat gave a bee to get a log, from which he intended to make a slit gong, dragged from his garden to the house tamberan. He and his wife gathered a surplus of sago, traded some of it for fish, and then announced that they wanted help. Wof, War, Marok, Mar, Gwiyap, Mes, and Mey, as well as several of Yat's affinal relatives, answered the call, and this group spent the morning dragging the log to the house tamberan clearing. [574] When the task was completed, they went to Yat's house and ate the food which his wife had prepared.[97]

If Yat's helpers be thought of as the pupils, he taught them to help him by employing the technique of giving. Their drives were hunger and various appetites aroused by the anticipation of a feast; their response was coöperation in the log pulling; the cue was Yat's announcement; and their reward was the feast given by Yat. Yat thus taught people to help him by giving them a feast.

121 861 If Yat be thought of as a pupil and the others as the teachers, helping rather than giving is the technique employed. The drive was the wish to get the log to the house tamberan (based upon the prestige which Yat would gain from having contributed a slit gong to the hamlet); the response was gathering food for a feast, announcing a work bee, and coöperating in the log pulling; the cues were those which indicated that the log was properly seasoned, and that there would be enough men in the hamlet who did not have

[97] It might be objected that this case does not represent socialisation since it concerns adults who have presumably already learned coöperative work habits. Such an objection can be answered in the following ways. Although the increments in reinforcement get smaller and smaller with each successive reward, there is always a strengthening of the habit with each reward. Thus a habit theoretically can never be completely learned, and the process of socialisation continues throughout the life of any individual. Secondly, if a habit does not lead to reward, it becomes extinguished. Thus reward is necessary to maintain habits as well as to teach them, and the maintenance of habits is as crucial to the process of socialisation as is the initial learning of them.

000 was well.

527 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a "singsing" rhythm from Wonyabankura
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
• 504 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin", which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told
[829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
114 123 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
439 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rambinan" (from Rambina) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection. There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

578 Knob and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof
231 talking. It seemed Marok and Chinuwe had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled, and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for <u>sunga</u> (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the 'sac sac' (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced
534 a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First
[574] they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in
[481] diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed
[313] up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the
[284] garden by the side of the road toward Wonyebunkure. A log was cut to the
[483] desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

574
476 April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and
[501] fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about
[252] 1:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago.
Awa and Hwiya boiled sago, and War had his family make soup. This
was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I
[156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The
[262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouria pigeon
[123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a
[262] tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it
[197] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the
262 whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked.
[521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betal, dosed,
[276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was
[522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marok, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinawa, Hwiya, Pambe, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

593 would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of
[262] the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 The gong was beaten at Afokayisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even
594 though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted hayrenb na ne yete (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Tenakwot from Hawi Tuk (Yessan) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think' and then 'No, I guess not'. The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mas came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bits to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

000 Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white man and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.